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THE NEW REPUBLIC

June 12, 1965, 35 cents

The Great Society

A Balance Sheet by Leon Keyserling

General de Gaulle — *Paul H. Douglas*

Alienated Africans — *Alex Campbell*

What Makes Benny Run — *Guy Daniels*

More on Vietnam — *Richard Dudman*

Johnson Abroad — *The Editors*

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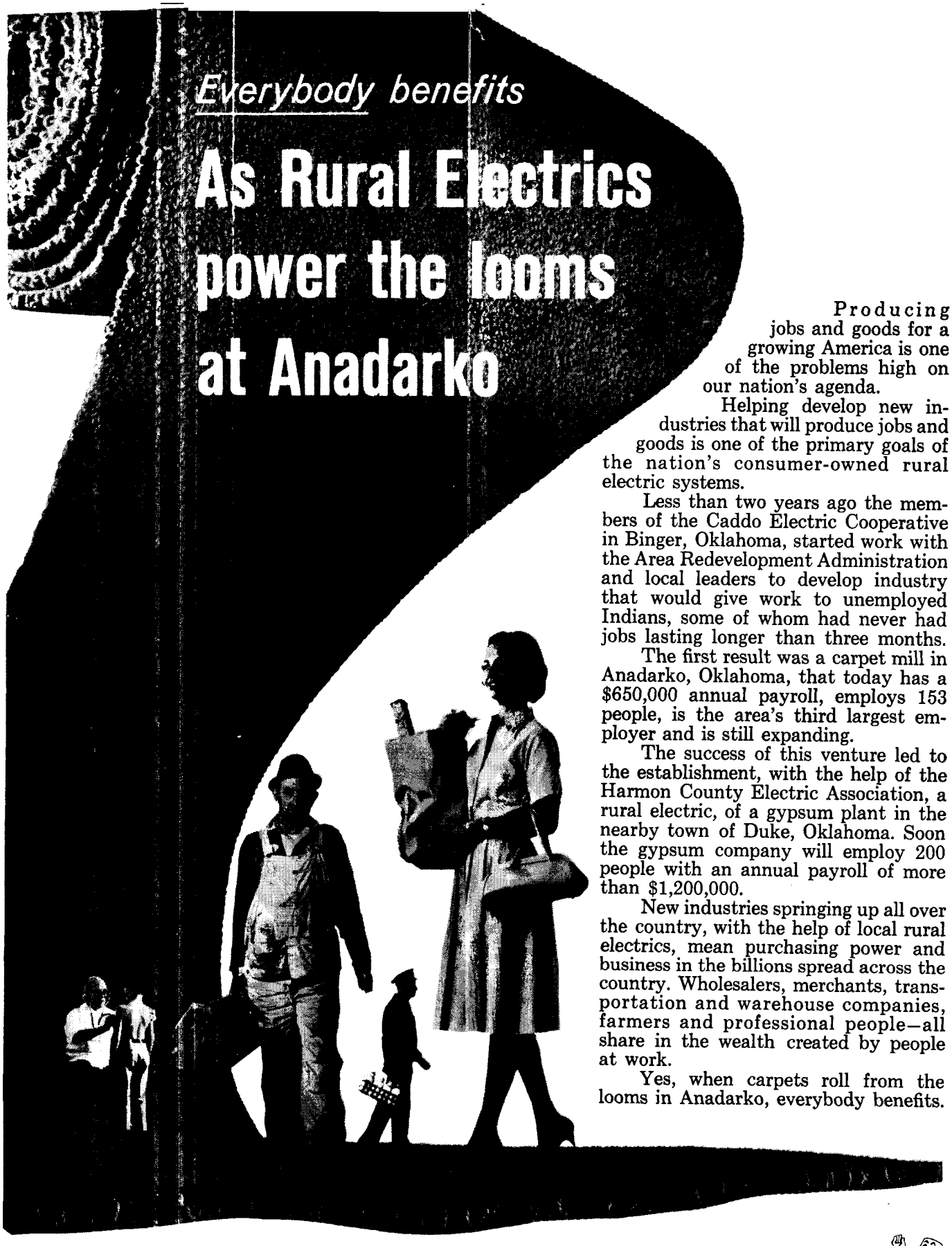

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Checks and Balances

★ Under the checks and balances theory of the separation of powers, one part of the US government is supposed to put a rein on another part. The equilibrium isn't always there. Franklin Roosevelt had almost a free hand in 1933 – but that was on domestic matters. We do not recall a time in American history when there have been so few outside counterweights to a President, in domestic and foreign policy, as right now in Washington. Where do the potential counterweights hang today? Let's go down the list and see.

Congress – Democrats control, two-to-one, in both houses. The Southern bloc is weak. The once-dominant GOP-Dixie coalition has collapsed.

Republicans – Outnumbered and divided on Congress and country, with no national spokesman. They out-Johnson Johnson on foreign affairs.

Public – The President has 64 percent popularity on the Gallup poll.

Press – Substantial editorial approval; White House tendency to "manage" Washington press corps by private, non-attributable briefings rather than formal public conferences.

Business – It is dazzled by record profits and a four-year boom. Business backs LBJ as it never did JFK.

Labor, Negroes and national minorities – Overwhelmingly for President. Strong regional opposition only from white Southerners on civil rights issues.

Intellectuals – There is opposition here and it is growing. There has been a cooling off since the election. On the other hand, academic teach-ins probably represent only a minority; furthermore, eggheads don't have many votes. Their power is in influencing others, a delayed process. They still back LBJ's domestic program.

What does it all add up to? Under the American system a popular President has extraordinary freedom of action, particularly in foreign affairs. This is a fearsome power for one man in the nuclear age. Theoretically, at any rate, it is kept in check by the counterbalances built into the government, mostly in Congress. In the rare intervals when the legislative check doesn't work there are nearly always controlling curbs in half a dozen other power centers in private life: business, press, political blocs and so on. The fact is today that most of these counterweights aren't functioning.

Are we worried by all this? To some degree, yes; we could wish for a far more searching and critical examination of what is going on by Congress and country. Fortunately we find little mass hysteria in the public and we believe that the American nation is pretty level-headed in the long run. The nervous, restless, energetic but self-defensive Lyndon Johnson has little of that mystic quality, that divine madness or *charisma*, that sweeps a nation off its feet. And while those checks and balances may not be operating very positively, they are there waiting their turn.

GOP Eyes Sparkle

★ The meeting of the top Republican leaders here last week was rather good fun. One thing we regret was that when General Eisenhower came over to the crowded hotel press room nobody stood up to greet him; we should have if we had thought about it in time. Perhaps it was because he was with Everett Dirksen and Ray Bliss. He said rather wryly that he was just a "politician emeritus." He dropped an inference that maybe the Johnson Administration is "impulsive" in foreign affairs, and then went off for a midday nap before anyone could question him.

The thing that really makes Republican eyes sparkle is Rep. John Lindsay's campaign for mayor in New York. Lindsay is a glamor figure and the answer to any party's prayer. The unfortunate Republicans are in such a bad fix in New York (as in most big cities) that they are not going to run him under a party label. It's the same strategy, oddly enough, that the Viet Cong use of infiltration, subversion and neutral clothes. We hope personable Mr. Lindsay won't mind the comparison. Mr. Nixon said he would work and vote for Lindsay and, if it would help, not make any speeches for him.

Barry Goldwater, that old romantic, didn't like the guerrilla approach. When Barry goes out to fight injuns he wears a scarlet coat with white bandolier, and he thinks other Republicans should, too.

It wasn't the so-called Republican Coordinating Committee that thought up the idea of sending a task force to Paris to patch up America's differences with de Gaulle. This was the bright stroke of the House Republican Conference, made up of all the 140 GOP House members. We expect every cartoonist in the country will have a go at the brave band, if they really go through with it. It takes us back to the Ford Peace Ship in World War I.

We have said all along that the GOP desperately needs a broadly based policy group that will free it from the sterile control of the congressional leaders. They are mostly elected from safe seats and are out of touch with modern times. The Coordinating Committee, as we size it up, is still pretty much congressionally controlled with Ike and Dick put in for window-dressing plus a few Republican governors. We doubt if it takes the party very far.

★ *Notes: The London Times* carried a Washington dispatch the other day that "even diplomatic courtesy is now rather uncommon" in the preoccupied Johnson Administration; seems that when Washington introduced the bomb truce in Vietnam it asked three allies to bring the peace gesture to the attention of North Vietnam, however, it didn't inform the three, before it started bombing again five days later, making them look silly. . . . Politics has its ironies, few things in recent times have played into Democrats' hands more than labor's crusade against the hated "right to work" law, directed against Republicans; the battle defeated Bricker in Ohio, Knowland in California; Democrats now are making a loyal effort to expunge the provision, but with what hidden regrets at losing such a political godsend we don't know.

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THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 152 Number 24 Issue 2638 June 12, 1965*
Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $8; Foreign, $9; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6.50. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43301.* *Copyright© 1965 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

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Johnson Abroad

The President is too alert a politician to be deaf to the cries his policies have raised at home and abroad, and last week he tried to soften their harsh accent. In one speech and at one press conference held the same day, he showed his willingness to attempt to allay widespread anxieties. Critics at home suddenly found themselves presented in a good light, as positively strengthening the American system by their attacks on US action in the Dominican Republic or Vietnam. Mr. Johnson did add that he would prefer criticism to be "responsible," which could be interpreted as meaning he would prefer silence or agreement. Nevertheless, his praise of "free speech" was a welcome change for a few Senators and others who have hitherto been depicted as shameless or witless accomplices of our adversaries. Mr. Johnson chose too to speak kindly about the United Nations, which badly needs some loving care but which the President has more or less ignored these past months. He referred warmly to the UN's 20th birthday which he hopes to help celebrate in San Francisco this month. Finally, and most heartening, the President last week affirmed that the way to beat Communism is to narrow the gulf between rich and poor. "This is the only way I know in which we can really win," he said about Southeast Asia, and he came out for "peaceful, democratic social revolution" in Latin America.

But when one descends from the heights of good intentions to the depths of agonizing choices, we are about where we were before. In Vietnam, the gap between rich and poor cannot be narrowed until there is peace. And there cannot be peace until there is a cease-fire, followed by some political compromise. And in the Dominican Republic a glaring contradiction persists between our sincere commitment to democratic government and democratic social change and the Administration's reluctance to repudiate the non-elected military junta of General Imbert or to help constitutional forces re-establish their authority in the country. The Johnson Administration has begun to talk favorably of the possibility of new Dominican elections within two or three months. But what need is there of elections if the US endorses the return of the only freely elected government the Dominican Republic has had in 30 years – a government overthrown by the junta with which the US still cooperates? If there, nevertheless, must be new elections, it is still unclear who will lay down the ground rules, who will be permitted to put up which candidates, or what force will ensure that the voters are not terrorized by guns the US has placed in the hands of Imbert's police and army. And these

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are only a few of the questions that nag the mind. In general, an impression is abroad that Mr. Johnson is too quick to reach for the six-shooter when someone mentions Communist bandits. There is fear, for example, that American bombing of North Vietnam may compel a reluctant Russia to put aside its quarrel with China for the time being and render aid to North Vietnam by shooting down American planes, thus postponing indefinitely further progress towards a durable detente.

Most of the Europeans tend to see the Soviet military threat gradually diminishing; they want to cut down their own military expenditure accordingly. They recognize, furthermore, as many Americans do too, that the new Cold War is not with Russia, but between Russia and China. *Pravda* vainly demands renewed Communist unity and snaps at the Chinese: "References to existing differences can in no way justify refusal to adopt common tactics." Reading that, our European friends are naturally puzzled when Washington reproaches de Gaulle in almost identical terms, for failing to fall in line with US policy. They ask what the US hopes to achieve by this forced-selling

"I Shot an Arrow into the Air . . ."

COMING: *James Ridgeway continues his survey of the war on poverty in our cities*

of its point of view: a Cold War in the West to match the one among the Communists? It is no good lashing out at de Gaulle, the way Senator Paul Douglas does in his speech printed in this issue. Berating the French won't, for instance, help German Chancellor Erhard, whose one anxious thought is to preserve the Franco-German reconciliation while hanging on like grim death to the American ally as well.

The President believes, as regards Latin America, that "the old distinction between civil war and international war has already lost much of its meaning," and he anticipates more Communist efforts at "conquest through chaos." That is true, within carefully defined limits. As a general proposition, it can be too easily applied to mean that any civil war in this hemisphere justifies external (US) intervention to put it down. But there are revolutions and revolutions, and it was the Vice President of the United States who pointed out, also last week, that "for the masses of the people in our own hemisphere and in the developing countries of Asia and Africa who have never known the benefits of modern civilization, the *status quo* is no longer a burden to be patiently borne, it is an oppressor to be cast off." Those who cast off the oppressor are not inevitably enemies of the United States, unless we choose to make them so.

The President denies that there is any new "Johnson Doctrine" under which American troops would intervene to prevent a possible Communist or "extremist" take-over anywhere in the Western Hemisphere. At the moment, however, the Dominican example looms larger than Mr. Johnson's denial. Democratic social revolutions are indeed what millions of Latin Americans want – and if the President wants that too, he needs no "new international machinery" of the OAS to further his aim. He need only identify more accurately those in Latin America who are foes or friends – the oligarchies and the military, or the democratic reformers. And he need only be more willing to leave more decisions about other countries to the people who live there, however unsatisfactory or un-American their behavior may seem, or be.

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Assault on the "Uglifiers"

At the White House Conference on Natural Beauty last month, a delegate from Texas remarked that, "Beauty is now politically sacrosanct – the President of the United States has made it so." In his billboard proposal, however, the President fell somewhat short of the heroic action advocated by the Conference's panel on roadside control. He recommends that states, in order to obtain federal highway grants after January 1, 1968, be required generally to ban advertising signs within 1,000 feet of interstate systems, *except* in areas "zoned or used predominantly for commercial or industrial purposes." The panel had voted to bar off-premise advertising altogether, overriding a dissent from panelist Philip Tocker of Waco, Texas, board chairman of the Outdoor Advertising Association of America. Indeed, the delegates' wrath was all-embracing and covered the hot dog stand, the gas station, the diner, sagging wires, ranch and split-levels, asphalt and concrete, beer cans, kleenex and chewing gum.

Nevertheless, Mr. Johnson's highway proposals – there are four – would give the Administration a powerful bludgeon to use against the "uglifiers." The Bureau of Public Roads spends $3.9 billion a year in federal highway aid, paying 90 percent of the cost of the 41,000-mile interstate and defense highway system, and 50 percent of the state outlay on federal-aid primary roads, which now total some 220,000 miles. In 1958 Congress authorized bonus payments to states agreeing to regulate outdoor advertising along the interstate system, but only eight states have become eligible for such payments; the voluntary approach has not worked. Two of the President's bills, dealing with the signboard and junkyard outrage, would have the effect of requiring states to impose controls over a much more extensive stretch of highways, and screen or remove existing nuisances by mid-1970. A third Johnson proposal would make it mandatory, rather than permissive as now, for states to use three percent of their federal aid funds for buying land along highways and making roads more attractive. A fourth bill would enable states to use a third of aid received for secondary roads to landscape, build scenic routes and open up the country for recreation.

Inasmuch as the US has about a mile of roads and streets for every square mile of land, and inasmuch as the average American spends two months or more of his life each year behind the steering wheel, this part of Mr. Johnson's effort will get hardy public approval. There are other ways in which the government can be expected, given the will, to use the tremendous leverage of federal money in beauty's behalf. Under the President's raking spur there is already new evidence of esthetic sensitivity in Agriculture, Interior, Commerce, the housing program and even in Defense.

What Shall We Do About de Gaulle?

by Paul H. Douglas

It is painful to be forced even to consider what we should do about the policies of President Charles de Gaulle, for France has been our oldest ally and we have benefited greatly from French culture. Some would like to pretend that all is well between us. But we cannot permanently ignore reality and much as we would like to be friends, we must recognize that General de Gaulle has made it abundantly clear that he is basically anti-American and that he seems determined to weaken the United States and, if possible, to pull us down.

He has kept the main body of French troops out of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization armies – contributing approximately one-and-one-half divisions to the joint defense of Western Europe. Our six divisions in NATO, primarily designed for the defense of France, are actually four times the number of French troops committed to that organization. In addition, the French navy and their air force have been kept completely separate from NATO.

General de Gaulle has also refused to allow the Common Market either to admit the British or to enter into cooperative trade relationships with the United States. He has not only recognized Communist China and North Vietnam, which have declared themselves

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PAUL H. DOUGLAS *is serving his 17th year in the United States Senate. He has been chairman (three times) of the Joint Economic Committee and is a member of the Banking and Currency Committee and of the Finance Committee. This article is adapted from remarks made by him on the Senate floor last week.*

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sworn enemies of the United States, but has fostered cooperative trading with these countries and is supplying them with many vital commodities. His weight has consistently been thrown against American policy in Southeast Asia – a region in which France itself conspicuously failed and from which it was expelled by an armed revolt of the people 11 years ago. Indeed, we only became involved in that area because France had failed so conspicuously to meet the needs and satisfy the aspirations of the Vietnamese. Recently he has taken a hostile attitude toward our policies in the Caribbean. He has constantly attacked unilateral military action on our part while at the same time with Russia he has sabotaged the development of the United Nations police force. He has thus helped to create the power vacuum into which we have been reluctantly forced to move.

The Gold Drain

Economically, General de Gaulle and the Bank of France, which is under his control, have been calling on us to pay in gold both (a) the some $300-to-$400 million of additional foreign exchange claims against us which come into French hands each year, and (b) a large part of the $1.2 billion claims which have accumulated in the past. In 1964, France withdrew $400 million of gold from us, and this year – up to two weeks ago – she has withdrawn $544 million more. In the last month, France has withdrawn between $50 and $60 million, and there is strong evidence that the General intends to withdraw an equal amount each month of the year. Her example has been followed by certain other Northern European countries. In addition to all this, the General has seldom missed an opportunity to refer scornfully to the "Anglo-Saxons" by which he seems to mean primarily us, and to state that he believes the United States should abandon its participation in European affairs except, of course, to help provide Europe and France with a nuclear shield and come to their aid with all our strength if they are attacked.

I submit that we do not deserve to be treated in this way. I freely grant that General de Gaulle is a dedicated patriot and that his refusal to bow his knee to Hitler and Petain, and his organization of the French forces of liberation and resistance were truly heroic. He deserves great credit for his bravery and sturdy independence. I recognize that Roosevelt and Churchill may have angered him by not giving him the deference in allied decisions which he craved and to which he believed himself entitled. Probably we did recognize the Petain government for too long. I regard the General also as a distinguished stylist endowed with rare literary abilities in thorough keeping with the historic qualities of French prose.

I recognize that France is, of course, a sovereign nation and that she has every legal right to make her own decisions. But we have our rights as well and we are entitled to help protect our basic interests and with becoming and modest firmness to defend ourselves.

We would like to be friends both of France and of General de Gaulle. We are gratefully aware that we could probably never have won our independence had it not been for French help. The names of Lafayette, Rochambeau and de Grasse will always be cherished by us. Some of our choicest spirits, such as Jefferson, Franklin, Madison and Monroe have drawn many of their qualities from French culture. Pasteur, Victor Hugo, Molière and the French painters from Clouet to Degas have enriched our lives. We wish to develop the closest cultural relations with France and to exchange lecturers, musicians, artists and dramatic companies.

But our French friends need also to remember that twice within this last half-century our full force has been thrown voluntarily into their defense and that Americans by the millions have twice crossed the ocean to redeem France at great loss of blood and treasure. We have helped to save France from those who had invaded, ravaged and despoiled her. Could France have shaken off Hitler and Vichy 20 years ago without our troops and our air and naval power? As a matter of fact, with all due credit to the heroism of the many members of the French Resistance, we did more to save France from Hitler than the French, as a nation, did themselves. Thus, after the war we poured $17 billion into the rehabilitation of Europe of which $2.5 billion went to France. All of this was in the form of grants – not loans – and was indeed the greatest example of far-sighted generosity in the history of the world. Hundreds of thousands of our men are now stationed overseas in our effort to stabilize the world and, in all, since the war we have expended $110 billion in an effort to help the people of the world.

And, as for relative politeness and mutual consideration, General de Gaulle needs to remember that Roosevelt, Churchill and Eisenhower stood aside and allowed the small French forces to have the honor and glory of entering Paris. And how poorly did General de Gaulle repay this abnegation when he ignored and indeed boycotted the exercises commemorating the bloody landing which our American soldiers made on Omaha Beach 20 years ago. For a nation which prides itself on its politeness, this was indeed a sorry self-revelation. We have tried to be patient and friendly and have quietly borne repeated slights.

I am glad that we have followed this policy thus far for I believe in goodwill as a solvent of difficulties. There are some who believe we should continue to be silent nonresistants in the hope that the General will change his policies or that time will remove him pain-

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lessly and bring a different set of principles and personalities to the fore. I have come to the conclusion, however, that we should not be silent and inactive if President de Gaulle and France continue on their present course. For, if these policies of the General are not checked now, they may infect the rising generation of French politicians, economists and financiers which will lead ultimately to more serious clashes.

First, let me say that France, by its own efforts, can never drag down the economy of the United States. Our Gross National Product of $650 billion and our average per capita product of approximately $3,300 gives us a basic strength which can withstand the economic onslaughts which General de Gaulle may bring. Furthermore, even if General de Gaulle should demand gold for all of his some $1.3 billion holdings, we would be able to meet his claim 10 times over. Our troubles would only come if he were able to get the other countries and central banks of Europe which hold nearly $8 billion to do likewise, and, if he were also to get the private holders of some $12 billion of claims against the United States to be deposited in these central banks and then persuade these banks and governments to ask that their dollar claims be redeemed in gold.

Fortunately, we are not defenseless and there are tools ready to our hand by which we can lessen the monetary and economic squeeze which General de Gaulle obviously intends to impose upon us. The first we have already taken. By the exchange equalization tax and the Gore Amendment, we have taken legislative steps to lessen the flow of American capital to Europe. And by President Johnson's voluntary agreement with the financial leaders of the country we are shutting off most of our export of capital. This should remove one of General de Gaulle's chief complaints. For he has often complained of American investment in Europe. In order to reduce our unfavorable balance of payments, we are now obliging him. France can now do what the General has long wanted, namely, supply its own capital.

It will be interesting to see if France and de Gaulle continue to be enthusiastic over this policy. For we can all remember how a few years ago our Canadian friends raised similar cries only to protest loudly when we proposed to apply the exchange equalization tax to them as well as to others. So loud and deep were their complaints that this would ruin them that we made an exception for Canada and are now furnishing them with the capital against which they formerly crusaded.

Will France go through a similar reversal?

A second way in which we can defend ourselves is to reduce our dollar expenditures for the support of the troops we have stationed in France to help protect that country. Last year we spent $231 million in this fashion and, while this was $200 million less than we spent in 1957, it is still too much. This policy indeed gives de Gaulle most of the dollars which he then turns into gold at our expense.

It is understood that France refuses to let us use francs for these purposes but insists upon the dollars which she then scorns and which she uses only to get her hands on more gold. This heavy drain can be reduced by moving many of our command and military functions to other countries. Since France is making so slight a contribution to NATO, much of the staff can be moved forward to West Germany while air units can be shifted from France to Belgium and Holland.

Similarly, we can cut down on, or even eliminate, our aid to the former French possessions in Africa. Last year we spent $192 million on these countries of which $125 million was in the form of grants, while $67 million were loans. Indeed, since 1957, we have spent no less than $1.1 billion on these African territories. There would seem to be no good reason why we should assume so much responsibility for these countries which, with one or two exceptions, are French-oriented and for which France should assume the liability.

In 1963, we spent $50 million for transportation on

The Old Buck Shooter

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French vessels and airlines. This was two-and-one-half times as much as we spent in 1957. It would only be common sense for us quietly to shift our governmental transportation of persons and things either to ships flying our own flag or those of friendly and cooperative countries. Without initiating any public boycott, American tourist agencies can be quietly encouraged to book their clients on other lines.

It is estimated that in 1963 American tourists spent $119 million traveling in France. Here again no public boycott should be carried out initially, but a considerable number of Americans, anxious to defend our country's financial integrity, can voluntarily decide either to see the United States first, or, if they feel impelled to go to Europe, may be induced to prefer the Uffizi in Florence to the Louvre, and St. Peters to Notre Dame. We should not seek to compete with France on the lower but rather on the higher levels of life. But our own art galleries now rank among the best in the world, and it is not geographical chauvinism to say that Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Southern California, Florida and Hawaii can give us as relaxing a vacation as can the French Riviera.

The French often complain about the rudeness of American tourists and this irritation is probably one of the contributing causes of international ill will. By reducing our tourist trade with them, we can reduce this cause of international friction, and by making tourists fewer, possibly make them more appreciated.

These last four items listed above total approximately $600 million a year. By cutting these items to the very bone, we can eliminate our unfavorable balance of payments with France and possibly turn it into a net favorable balance. By our cutting off American investment, we can make such a favorable balance still larger.

Since General de Gaulle is such a strong advocate of the pure gold standard, I am sure he will not object if we then ask France to make her payments in gold rather than in French exchange.

Repayment of French Debts

In these ways, we may induce a greater desire on the part of France to cooperate financially and to seek with us an improved international monetary system. If she were to start losing rather than gaining gold, a mighty stimulus would be added to such actions.

If all this is not enough, there are always two further possibilities. As I reminded the Senate some months ago, France still owes us enormous sums from World War I. As a memorandum which Secretary of the Treasury Fowler sent me shows, this now amounts to a total of $6,456 million. This global sum is composed of just short of $2 billion in unmatured principal, leaving the matured principal and interest which is both due and unpaid at almost precisely $4.5 billion. Of this, the unpaid and due principal amounts to $1.9 billion.

These are legal debts. For, in 1931, we merely postponed collection of the war debts and did not cancel them. France has argued that she has no obligation to pay us since Germany refused to pay her further reparations. But this is not a legal justification for the French refusal to pay us. We are legally obligated to pay gold when the French present their foreign exchange dollar claims against us. We have loyally lived up to our legal obligations and we shall continue to do so. But, out of consideration for France, we have refrained for a third of a century from pressing our legal claims against her. If the French run on the dollar continues, we should again bring forward these claims. It would be a gracious act to forgive the unpaid interest and I would favor doing just that, but the principal of $1.9 billion would be a proper claim. In fact, a good basis for settlement would be for us to cancel France's whole indebtedness to us in return for their canceling the foreign exchange claims which they hold against us. They have already paid off in French currency the French citizens from whom they have taken these claims, and they could do the same with any other claims which are now current.

The slate would then be wiped clean. If the General does not agree to this, we can carry the case to the World Court.

And secondly, we could reduce our military forces under NATO. At the very beginning of NATO, I proposed that our relative contribution in men should be approximately one to the European's four. I was unfortunately dissuaded from this by appeals from the State Department, but I submit that time has proved that I was correct and the State Department wrong. General de Gaulle is acting in such a way as to make such action very tempting. I do not wish at this time definitely to recommend this course since I fear the Communist menace to Europe as well as to Africa and Asia. But, if the French persist in their present policies, we may be reluctantly forced to take such an action.

The choice is up to France and to its President. We shall await with interest the choice to be made.

In the meantime, let us encourage the friendliest of cultural relations with France. Let us welcome French visitors to our shores with especial hospitality. Let us arrange American tours for French orchestras, theatrical companies and art exhibits. Perhaps the French might like to reciprocate. Firm in the defense of our rights, we should be gracious and friendly in our personal bearing. The Romans had a phrase for this: *Fortiter in re. Suaviter in modo.* Let this be the motto for our action.

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The Great Society

A New Kind of Balance Sheet Is Needed

by Leon H. Keyserling

President Johnson has instructed his top experts to begin work on a legislative program for 1966, uninhibited by considerations of cost or politics. They are to look at what our resources permit and what the nation needs. But even as the President is initiating what could become a great planning effort, a source long dedicated to planning has blown retreat, in a study prepared by Dr. Leonard A. Lecht, director of the National Goals Project of the National Planning Association and entitled "The Dollar Cost of our National Goals."

The study starts with 15 national objectives originally set forth qualitatively in a 1961 Report of President Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals. To these it adds President Kennedy's aim "to put men on the moon and bring them back." It then quantifies the "costs" of these 16 goals, and concludes that their achievement by 1975 would "cost" in that year about $1,131 billion, or $150 billion more than the $981 billion Gross National Product which the study sets as a target for that year. To lift GNP higher, the study says, would impose "severe strains on our social and economic institutions," require "a much greater degree of decision-making vested in the federal government than most Americans have been willing to accept in peacetime," and, in all probability, involve such unpopular measures as a longer work-week and price and wage controls.

I disagree and shall try to explain why.

Goals or "needs" are not absolutes; they vary with our productive capabilities, which in turn are greatly affected by the "needs" we serve. Thus, "needs" and capabilities are two sides of a balance sheet interacting upon one another in the very process of formulating them. When the NPA study adds up the disconnected estimates of specialists in a dozen or more fields, and then tells the American people they are beyond our productive potentials, it reduces national goal-making to a burlesque. By this method, one might just as easily find that our "needs" by 1975 will exceed our potentials, not by $150 billion, but by $300 billion or even $3 trillion.

In any event, the study's GNP target of $981 million by 1975 assumes an average annual GNP growth rate of only 4 percent and unemployment averaging 4 percent. This contrasts with the 2.9 percent unemployment rate which I and many others equate with maximum employment; and even this lower figure is much higher than unemployment in other advanced industrial nations. As to growth, the President's 1965 Economic Report depicts, during recent years, an average annual advance of 3.5 percent in productivity, and indicates between now and 1970 an average yearly increase of 1.7 percent in the civilian labor force. Just to absorb these two factors, we need an annual GNP growth of 5.2 percent (not the NPA's 4 percent), which might be reduced to about 5 percent by some gradual reduction in the working week. Moreover, in view of the excessive unemployment now, we need for a couple of years an average annual GNP growth of 8-9 percent to restore reasonably full resource use by 1967.

Weighing these considerations, I arrive at a 1975 GNP target of about $1,100 billion, or about $119 billion higher than the NPA's. This difference would cover about 80 percent of the $150 billion worth of programs which the NPA study says we must forego. And the other 20 percent could be covered by a more desirable distribution of GNP than the study projects. In view of the new technology, the study allocates too large a portion of GNP to private investment in plant and equipment. The study also implies too rapid a rate of expansion of consumption by those who already enjoy opulence.

Let us turn to matters of fundamental emphasis. Today, we are confronted by enormous idleness of manpower and other productive resources; and few competent analysts would say that current and prospective programs will bring us much closer to full use of our resources in the foreseeable future. Under these circumstances the NPA warning is like rushing to slow

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down a train which is hardly making the grade.

The study also warns that we had better be careful, lest some attempt to go too far or too fast toward the Great Society results in too much planning and other activity by the federal government. For a "national planning" group to denigrate, if ever so softly, the role of the government seems to me to cap error with irony. It is as if there were no such thing as the Employment Act of 1946, which requires for its proper implementation that goals and capabilities of the kinds treated in the NPA study be set forth annually by the President and examined by the Congress.

Current euphoria about "the longest uninterrupted upward movement in our history" seems to me to ignore some hard facts, the most important being: *We have made no striking progress toward solving our chronically deficient economic growth rate.* Indeed, a hardly noticed sentence in the 1965 Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers admits that the current upward movement has been unusual in length but not in progress toward restoring reasonably full resource use. "Recovering" for so long means that we have not achieved anything near full recovery; we have been "stretching out" high level stagnation."

Persistent Unemployment

Unemployment today, officially stated at around 5 percent of the civilian labor force, is two-thirds higher than it ought to be. But this 5 percent figure itself tends to mislead. Since unemployment hits different people at different times of the year, a 5 percent average means that about a fifth of the workers are out of work on the average for about three months in the year and thus lose a quarter of their regular annual income. The 5 percent average also means a Negro unemployment rate about twice as high as among whites – and 15 to 20 percent among young people just entering the labor market. Nor is the average *really* 5 percent. Taking account of the full-time equivalent of part-time unemployment, and the concealed unemployment resulting from those not actively looking for work because of the scarcity of job opportunity, the true level of unemployment now is certainly in excess of 8 percent.

Aside from the human tragedy of unemployment, is the public aware of its other costs? Unemployment from 1953-1964 cost the US about $590 billion in lost production, measured in 1963 dollars. The gap between actual production and potential maximum production is now about $80 billion (annual rate).

And let no one now think we are coming out of the woods. The unemployment rate today is lower than at the trough of our most recent recession, in 1961, but it is much higher than at the crest of any previous recovery movement since 1953. Thus, there has been *no* significant interruption of the *chronic* trend toward rising unemployment. In its January Report, the Council of Economic Advisers forecast a 1964-65 economic growth rate of about 4 percent (contrasted with the 8 to 9 percent needed for about two years to restore maximum employment), and it forecast unemployment averaging about the same this year as last. In May, an important group of business analysts forecast almost no further expansion in 1965. In the next year or two, the jobless rate is likely to be higher than now.

Getting employment down and the growth rate up depends upon bringing consumption into line with our burgeoning productive powers. Even in purely economic terms, this requires that we reduce rapidly the glaring disparities between the 40 percent or so of our people who live in poverty or deprivation, and the 5 to 7 percent who live in "affluence"; and part of this task is to strike a better balance between production of luxury goods and production in the public sector (schools, health care, recreation, transportation, resource development). The wars against poverty and low economic growth and unemployment are really one; their fragmentation is a main reason why we are faltering on all three fronts.

Manpower training, retraining and education, while desirable, have been given altogether too high a priority. All experience shows that a high enough level of aggregate demand (not obtained by training individuals) quickly reduces unemployment to minimum levels, educates many people on the job, and tells us *what* to train others for. Similarly, the anti-poverty war under the Economic Opportunity Act attributes far too much poverty to personal characteristics of the poor requiring corrective treatment, rather than to systemic defaults in our general economic performance and programs. There are only three ways to get more income to the poor: (a) reduce unemployment to minimum levels, (b) enlarge the incomes of those employed but receiving substandard pay, and (c) allocate larger shares of the national income to those who cannot be employed, like most of our older people and women with small children but without husbands. These three tasks, requiring not only many private adjustments but also greatly expanded public services, are only lightly touched by the Economic Opportunity Act, and inadequately dealt with under other programs.

Much in point are the tax reductions of 1962 (by administrative action) and of 1964 (by legislation) having an annual value of about $13 billion. More than half of this $13 billion cut, according to my calculations, was designed to increase saving for investment purposes by corporations and relatively high-income individuals. Since savings for this purpose were already ample, this part of the tax reduction has

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been diverted substantially to frozen savings, to bidding up stock prices, and to investments overseas which have complicated our balance of payments and gold problem. The smaller part, which flowed into immediate stimulation of personal consumption, should have been almost the whole.

But even if most of the tax reduction flowed into immediate spending at home, this would make a relatively little dent upon the problem of creating the 22-27 million new jobs which will be needed over the next decade to take care of population expansion and those displaced by automation. *No* feasible expansion in the demand for the kinds of products bought with tax reduction money is likely to outrun the advances in productivity and technology in the industries which turn out these products. The only way to create these millions of new jobs is to shift much more of our total production toward unmet *national* needs – needs so great that appropriate expansion of output in these areas would far outrun the technological advances. These areas manifestly call for more public spending instead of more tax reduction.

Ill-conceived tax reductions at an annual rate of about $13 billion may have stimulated the economy some and prolonged the upturn. But $13 billion thrown into the streets, to be scrambled for by the first comers, would have done this for a while, and might even have distributed the proceeds better. The real question is how much more good could have been done – and can still be done – by alternative policies. Largely in exchange for these tax reductions, federal budget outlays *per capita*, measured in 1963 dollars, *fell* to $476.06 as proposed for fiscal 1966, compared with $482.37 in fiscal 1965, and $558.19 in fiscal 1954. Measured in ratio to total national production, total federal budget outlays declined from 18.72 percent in fiscal 1954 to 16.32 percent in fiscal 1964, and 15.25 percent in fiscal 1965. The ratio has been still lower in fiscal 1966; and, in exchange for another $4 billion of excise tax reduction over the next few years, and promises of other tax concessions to come, a continuing tight rein on federal spending is in prospect. This mix of fiscal policy may yield some sort of consensus, but the price paid is far too high.

The Money Supply

Next to tax reduction, the most important economic weapon employed since 1953 is the monetary policy, and its use has been inept. The unduly low rate of expansion of the money supply has been a major factor in repressing growth and enlarging unemployment. During the past decade or so, upward-spiraling interest rates have transferred more than $50 billion away from ordinary consumers and small producers who could have used this money most beneficially (to themselves and the whole economy), and away from the government budgets which could have used the money to war against poverty, and toward financial institutions and others who have not needed such additional income. Taking tax policies and money policy together, $10-12 billion a year is now being misdirected. This would be enough to pay for an effective offensive against unemployment, poverty, and low economic growth, for several years ahead.

Using an *American Economic Performance Budget* which reconciles all of our productive capabilities and "needs" (on the manpower side, the income side and the product side), I set forth on the next page what we can achieve by 1975. As I have used this *Performance Budget* for almost two decades, I have been able to test and revise it in terms of actual developments.

The main targets for 1975, in my judgment, should include the virtual liquidation of poverty in the US; a decent home for almost all families; a substantial rebuilding of our urban areas and mass transportation systems; education within the reach of practically all, up to the limits of their capabilities and ambitions; health services, in line with the advance of medical science and available to practically all at costs within their means; public assistance programs with income "floors" below which no families should be permitted to remain; labor and manpower programs to train and relocate those who need them; and natural resource development compatible with the needs of a growing population and rapid population shifts. This is not Utopia; much would remain to be done in 1975, but in terms of the standards of that year, not the standards of 1965.

Because the federal budget is the most powerful single economic instrument we have for meeting a large portion of our national needs and for galvanizing action at other levels of government and in the private sector, and because the decisions to be made in connection with the fiscal 1967 federal budget to be submitted next January are of such towering importance,

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer months,
The New Republic will not appear on:

July 17 *July 31*
August 14 *August 28*

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue dated September 4

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GOALS FOR THE FEDERAL BUDGET

(actual, fiscal 1966; goals, calendar 1970 and 1975)

	Per Capita (1963 dollars)			Total (billions of 1963 dollars)		
	1966	1970	1975	1966	1970	1975
Housing and community development	0.05	15.61	16.49	0.01	3.3	3.8
Education	12.72	33.11	39.06	2.7	7.0	9.0
Health services and research	10.46	22.71	30.38	2.2	4.8	7.0
Public assistance	16.71	21.29	23.44	3.5	4.5	5.4
Labor, manpower, and other welfare services[1]	6.18	9.46	9.55	1.3	2.0	2.2
Natural resources	12.85	15.14	15.63	2.7	3.2	3.6
All domestic programs and services[2]	186.37	250.71	256.08	39.0	53.0	59.0
Total federal outlays, including defense, space, and international	476.06	638.60	677.08	99.7	135.0	156.0

[1] Excluding the Economic Opportunity Act, for which the $1.346 billion item in the fiscal 1966 budget should be doubled within a few years.

[2] Including also agriculture, veterans, commerce, interest, general government, etc.

I list above some goals for the federal budget, both on a *per capita* basis related to total population and on an aggregate dollar basis, taking the fiscal 1966 federal budget as the point of departure.

This proposed federal budget does not rely too heavily upon federal action. In a properly growing economy, the proposed federal outlays would be 15.4 percent of total national production in calendar 1970, and 14.2 percent in calendar 1975, compared with an average of 16.3 percent during the fiscal years 1954-1966. My proposals contemplate that the annual rate of federal outlays for goods and services be lifted to a 1975 level about $42 billion above the 1964 level, and that over the same period of time the annual rate of state and local outlays for goods and services be lifted about $32 billion. While I urge an increase in 1975 over 1964 of about $74 billion in the annual rate of outlays for goods and services by governments at all levels, there is projected an increase of almost $98 billion in gross private investment (including net foreign), and an increase of $317 billion in private consumer expenditures, adding up to an increase of about $489 billion in the annual rate of total national production.

Any further tax reduction should concentrate upon enlarging the after-tax incomes of low- and middle-income people, through much higher exemption credits in the personal income tax structure, and reduction of federal excise taxes on necessities, not luxuries. The policies of the Federal Reserve Board should be drastically revised, toward a more liberal money supply and lower interest rates. Conventional-type public works should receive at least $1 billion a year of additional federal support. Federal minimum wage legislation should be greatly improved, both as to coverage and standards. With federal aid, unemployment insurance should be made available to all who need it, with average benefit payments at least half the average full-time working wage. Old-age insurance benefits should be doubled within 5 years, and financed increasingly through general taxation. An entirely new farm program should be enacted, geared toward income rather than price parity, with help directed toward those who need it most, and with much more stress upon expansion of consumption both at home and through enlarged exports to the half of the world which still goes hungry. Developmental programs for the distressed areas should, with appropriate modifications, be lifted to the comprehensiveness which distinguished the TVA. And we need vast readjustments in price-wage-profit-investment relationships throughout the private sector. Toward this, some public "guide-lines" more realistic than the current one could emerge under the discipline of an *American Economic Performance Budget* such as I describe.

Not in detail but in outline, these are the standards to which one may hope the President's experts will turn, as they prepare for 1966 and the years following.

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Benny and Flo on the Run

by Guy Daniels

Twelve Chases on West 99th St.
by Roy Bongartz
(Houghton Mifflin; $4)

At first skim-through, this sequence of stories reads like the script for a TV situation comedy series constructed of prefabricated concrete yocks, the whole thing incongruously adorned by some fine choreography and, right in the middle, a lovely pastoral. Benny, an ex-radiator repairman turned parking lot attendant ("a follower, a whiner, a pleader") has a vague but persistent yen for Flo, a nervous, skinny waitress in an Upper West End bar. In virtually every story or "chase," Benny starts off with a new scheme for more or less seducing Flo, only to be frustrated by his omnipotent creator, who strews all manner of obstacles in the way of his wooing – down to and including a rickety love seat in the last episode, with whose collapse the story does likewise. This and other far more subtle examples of Accident (a modish word to which we shall shortly return) are what make *Twelve Chases* read like situation comedy. What makes it read like a script is Mr. Bongartz's distinct preference for cinematic, as opposed to strictly literary, treatment of his material. Witness the opening paragraph of the first (and title) story:

> "Everybody is running in New York – the pace is fast, they say. What they are doing is chasing somebody or running away from somebody. Once in a while, one of them manages, with careful timing, to do both at the same time."

Not all of Mack Sennett's translators have managed so well. S. J. Perelman, to name only one, has taken quite a few unpremeditated pratfalls in trying to verbalize visual comedy: "I lit a match and applied the flame to the tip of my nose" – or however it used to go. Bongartz knows better than this. When he borrows or adapts from "stage and screen" (and he borrows plenty: from Mack Sennett, Molière, the Marx Brothers, and the New Wave) it is seldom a total failure. About the only time his passion for the cinematic betrays him completely is in the story called (significantly) "Angles." And here, as it happens, no borrowing is involved. It is simply that "Angles" has a two-page account of pure action (touch football) of the kind no writer should have to labor through now that we have that wonderful gadget, the movie camera. (Gide said that Simenon, in his "serious" novels, was the first writer clearly to understand the implications of that gadget vis-à-vis fiction. Perhaps those novels should be made required reading in creative writing courses.)

Still and all, it is when Bongartz borrows least that he writes best, as in "Gloria" (the pastoral sung by Benny to a beautiful Negro girl) and another fine story, "The Steel Ball." The other pieces too often aspire toward the cinematic, so that one has the impression of a skilled workman using the wrong set of tools: Ted Williams crashing the line as a fullback; William Carlos Williams trying to "paint" a poem; or, for that matter, Tennessee Williams trying to write one. The device of the "chase," with which the book so briskly begins, is very much to the point. Being a purely cinematic conceit, it simply doesn't hold up in words – as, say, one of Donne's conceits holds up throughout a poem. In the first story, to be sure, each of the 12 "chases" is carefully numbered; but, numbered or no, they have ceased to "work" midway through the story. And in the succeeding episodes (each of which, on another scale, is also supposed to be a "chase") the device is frankly abandoned.

Another case in point is the story entitled "Circles," in the course of which Benny's tiny studio apartment ("with the stove on top of the refrigerator") is inundated, as are Benny and Flo, by a horde of neighborhood characters: two painters (who slosh buckets of green, orange, and blue paint all over the place), a radio repairman, a Cuban boy with an injured pigeon in a cage, and a vacuum cleaner salesman – a natural for the last one to come piling in. It's funny on paper; but it was a lot funnier when the Marx Brothers did it on the screen. Ditto for some of the other farcical scenes where Bongartz – who certainly has language in a way all his own – just doesn't get the mileage he should out of his words. Indeed, throughout my first look at the stories, I was inclined to blame Bongartz's frustrations as a film director (he'd make an excellent one) for their every flaw, even including a defect commonly blamed on the editors of *The New Yorker* (where five of these "chases" originally appeared): their waywardness. Bongartz is a master at the deft sketching of *Scènes de la Vie Upper-West-Endienne*; and whenever, meandering through such scenes, the fabula of a particular story dwindled to a mere trickle (like a Supreme Court decision trickling through a lush landscape of footnotes) I assumed his "visualism" was at fault: that he was wantonly indulging his skill as a verbal cameraman.

But no – as I found as I went dutifully back for a rereading. In the first story, we meet Benny and Flo making ambiguous undulations as they chase each other up and down the West 99th Street hill. (Mr. Bongartz's failure accurately to map the topography of West 99th makes things even more confusing than they are anyway, but no matter.) At each pause, Benny asks Flo to "come on up for a little while"; and each time she refuses-yet-

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doesn't-refuse. (This turn of phrase I have borrowed from Russian, a language in which the Mode of Ambiguity is very ancient.)

> "Flo realizes that going with Benny means nothing to her one way or the other. She is altogether uninvolved with him. 'No,' she says, her lips forming the word completely by chance; it could just as easily have been 'yes' or 'green'."

A minute later, when disconsolate Benny has turned and headed for home, Flo "uncertainly retraces her steps" and follows him. At this point the mood of ambiguity is rudely shattered when Ray, a Negro neighbor of Benny's, takes an unequivocal fall – 12 feet down to a concrete cellarway – and breaks his neck. Even that event, however, proves to be ambiguous: Ray survives, thanks in part to Flo's ministrations. Then, with Ray packed off to the hospital, the pair of lovers-not-lovers resume their ambivalent, ambulatory courtship up and down 99th Street. And the episode concludes haphazardly when Benny "becomes ugly" and manhandles Flo (one of his less pleasant habits), whereat she sics a cop on him and he runs for home.

These "chases," with their many moments of hesitating and half-turning-back, are of course strongly suggestive of ballet; and in one sense *Twelve Chases* can be construed as a Molière-like *comédie-ballet* set on West 99th; which helps justify all those tarnished fixtures of farce. But there is more to Mr. Bongartz's method than just this "scoring" and choreography. He is also after something that can best be captured (if at all) on the printed page, in imaginative writing: the "randomness" of human relations in a city like New York.

Or rather, of certain human relations – those between Manhattan types like Benny and Flo. Because if Bongartz has been successful (as I think he has) in rendering this very elusive quality of Manhattan life – this kind of "impersonal personal relationship" in which Accident plays so large a part – it is precisely because he selected, quite unaccidentally by the way, two characters very much to his purpose.

Benny, in particular, is a perfect subject. His life is almost entirely given over to Accident or chance, for the simple reason that he is volitionally defective. Rarely does he know what he really wants; and when he does, his intensity of desire is so feeble that its course can be diverted by almost any haphazard occurence. He is most emphatically not "almost Rabelaisian," as Mr. Robert Coates describes him in the jacket blurb. "Almost human" is much closer to the mark, as witness Bongartz's own quick sketch of Benny in a lumber store:

> "Wood was strange company for Benny, Benny being made of old car parts, with carbon monoxide for breath. Benny was full of steel and ball bearings and nuts and bolts, rusty fenders and bent bumpers, and the viscous insides of clogged radiators. . . . Benny was made of jagged shards of broken safety glass, prickly ends of broken-off connecting wires, burnt-out sparkplugs, acid-eaten gaskets. But wood? New, fresh wood? He sniffed the air experimentally in this northern outpost."

Flo is less a mere "object" than Benny. In fact, much of the rather brutal comedy – and pathos – of *Twelve Chases* comes from Benny's handling her as if she were an object like himself. She is not perhaps enough of a human person to experience anything like love; but she is capable of vaguely generalized humanitarian sentiments, and she acts accordingly and decisively – much to Benny's bewilderment. (While Flo ministers unto Ray, "the busted Negro," Benny "stands back, suddenly impatient of this intrusion into his plans by fallen Negro and cop-chasing. . . .") But no more than Benny does she really know what she wants – at any rate within the range of possibilities offered to a waitress in an Upper West Side bar. Hence her maybe-yes, maybe-no relationship with Benny – their "minimum-responsibility deal." Hence the inordinate role of Accident in her life – its aimlessness.

And hence, too, the deliberate aimlessness of Mr. Bongartz's stories. If they resemble mobiles – now still, now turning this way, only to hesitate and half-turn back, as the wind listeth – it is because the lives of Benny and Flo also resemble mobiles. It is because, virtually all volition having been knocked out of them by the mechanized brutality of the big city, they are almost completely a prey to Accident, which looms much larger for them than it really has to. (In the final episode, Benny and Flo break up – along with that love seat – for a reason incomprehensible to anyone but a Manhattanite: Flo is moving to the East Side.)

That Mr. Bongartz has been successful in his creation of literary mobiles is, I think, beyond doubt. For my own part, I prefer those of his stories in which, however briefly, Benny and Flo escape the twin tyrannies of Accident and Ambiguity and dare to desire something – something quite specific that they want badly. (A desire, said Plato in an unambiguous mood, is a desire for something.) The moment, for instance, in "The Steel Ball" when Flo realizes that the two "borrowed" Cuban children could – in a better world, with a better man – have been her own. Or in "Gloria" when the splendid Negro girl has gone, leaving Benny "with something unreachable to long for," and he muses that maybe "he and Flo – even without Gloria – might cook up some warmth of their own."

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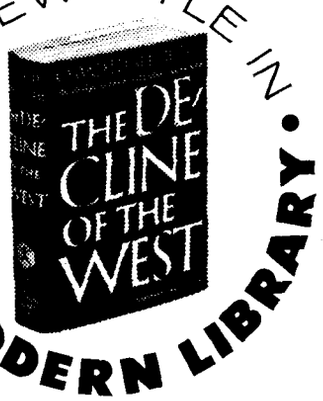

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Africa's Pattern of Violence

by Alex Campbell

Massacres in the Congo are only months old, but 13 years ago Mau Mau oath-takers of Kenya hacked their victims to death with knives and 2,000 miles south, in a South African coastal town called East London, a mob set on fire and partly ate a white nun, Sister Aidan. Why has Africa a continuing pattern of violence?

Politics in the Congo
by Crawford Young
(Princeton; $12.50)

"Mau Mau" Detainee
by Joseph Mwangi Kariuki
(Penguin; $1.25)

South Africa: Crisis for the West
by Colin and Margaret Legum
(Praeger; $4.95)

Africa: From Independence to Tomorrow
by David Hapgood
(Atheneum; $5.00)

Pre-Mau Mau Kenya seemed a well-mannered, country-club sort of country. Ernest Hemingway wrote a couple of short stories and a travel book about it. Judged by the literature, Kenya was inhabited almost exclusively by rhinos and hunters, both white. There were "natives," but their role was to carry the game slain by the white sharpshooters. The Mau Mau rudely disrupted this idyll. They murdered 30 whites and 1,700 "loyal" blacks, and the Kenya government slew 10,000 Mau Mau and put 90,000 in concentration camps.

During the "emergency," inexpert whites toting sten-guns and with grenades slung round their necks managed to kill more of their own number than the Mau Mau did. Captured Mau Mau fighters, about to be hanged on an improvised gallows set up on a white golf course, grabbed up and kissed handfuls of earth and went to their deaths crying, "This is our land!"

Joseph Mwangi Kariuki was a schoolboy who took the Mau Mau oath and spent years in British concentration camps in Kenya. He explains the Mau Mau thus: "When a wart-hog gives birth to its young . . . it charges furiously with all its force, using its tough head like a battering ram, against a *mukuyu* (fig tree). The fruits of the tree are thus knocked down and provide food for its newborn young while the poor mother lies . . . unconscious. . . . This is what the fighters for freedom did for our people. . . ."

And he describes Mau Mau oath taking: "We spent the day quietly discussing politics. . . . In the evening we all went to another house where some people had been skinning a goat. We sat down and Binathi told us to take all our clothes off. . . . He told me to take the thorax of the goat which had been skinned [and] to put my penis through a hole that had been made in it. . . ." Thus awkwardly placed, the young oath-takers were ordered to intone: "If I am called on to shed my blood and fail, may this oath kill me, may this he-goat kill me. . . ."

Who organized the Mau Mau? Kenya whites accused a black anthropologist called Jomo Kenyatta, a witchdoctor's son who had studied under Malinowski and written a book about Kikuyu tribal customs. They never proved it, but jailed him anyway. Now Jomo Kenyatta is the President of Kenya, Joseph Kariuki is a member of the Kenya parliament, and Mau Mau ex-warriors wearing caps of monkey fur are hailed as heroes on the streets of Nairobi, the Kenya capital.

But though Kenyatta is now trying patiently to weave whites, Africans and Indians into a nation, many whites are leaving, the Indians are afraid, and the Africans are unemployed. The politicians squabble among themselves and have developed what Kariuki calls an "unseemly hunger for . . . fine clothes and Cadillacs."

In almost all of Africa's 37 newly independent countries, the politicians and bureaucrats show similar cravings for the trappings of power. They have villas, cars and servants supplied by the state – just as had the white colonial civil servants they have replaced. They behave like The New Class in Milovan Djilas' book of that title about Communist bureaucrats in Europe. They lavish money on concrete symbols of success that mock not meet the needs of their people. David Hapgood describes the brand-new Houphouet-Boigny bridge in Abidjan, capital of the Ivory Coast. Every night children gather like moths under the bridge's gleaming fluorescent lights because they have no light to read by in the nearby shantytown where they live.

The four Africans out of five who are peasants, as well as the disillusioned unemployed in the towns, are as alienated from their rulers as they were before independence. Professor Young suspects that the Congo, after it ceased being a well-drilled police state run by the Belgians, rapidly became bedlam at least in part because of the alienation. The Stanleyville and other massacres last year were perpetrated by people who had been made to feel they were outside society, by five centuries of slavery and 80 years of colonialism,

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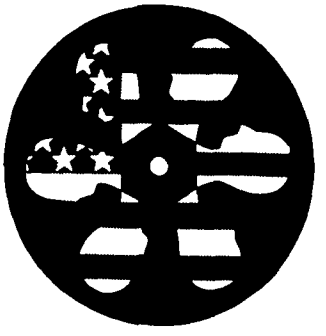

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and who still feel outside a system that has been taken over by greedy and corrupt politicians and soldiers.

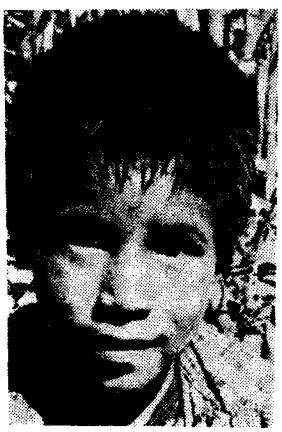
The chief problem confronting Africa's new ruling class of teachers and lawyers is how to bridge the gap between themselves and the illiterate masses. White colonialism destroyed tribal culture, then offered the tribes no place in white culture: the Mau Mau were enraged outsiders who sought to fill their cultural void with terrible oaths and still more terrible deeds. The new masters of Africa have to do better. Sekou Toure of Guinea and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana are aware of the problem: Both have used rude unlettered mobs, deliberately, to put down snobbish students who won't soil their hands with manual toil and faint at the thought of spending even one night in a village. (Most Africans live in villages.) But Nkrumah has become proletarian and anti-egghead to a ridiculous degree, and Toure lets his close associates lead lordly lives in luxury villas.

Alienation is of course the order of the day in the Republic of South Africa, which with $2,700-million of British and $900-million of US capital invested at 26 percent in its mines and industries is the richest country on the continent. But here alienation is two-edged. The 9,000,000 blacks have higher living and school standards than any other Africans but feel outsiders in their own land. The 3,000,000 whites firmly believe in what Lincoln said in 1858, that "while black and white races remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and . . . I am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race"; but they too feel fearful because they are outnumbered. The Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd, is a lifelong member of the white secret society the *Broederbond* (Brotherhood); it is as if a fervent Klan wizard were President of the United States. According to Colin and Margaret Legum, *Broeders* have to take an initiation oath. They stick a bloody dagger in a corpse-like object wrapped in a winding sheet marked "Treason" while a chaplain intones: "He who betrays the *Bond* will be destroyed by the *Bond;* the *Bond* never forgives and never forgets."

In an interview I once had with him, when he was Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd openly wept, then apologized and explained that he could not control his feelings when he thought about his Afrikaner people with their backs to the wall and face to face with rising black nationalism. Recently, Dr. Verwoerd or other *Broeders* have talked about turning whole regions of South Africa over to the blacks, so that whites and blacks may "develop separately"; and, ironically, South Africa has now abandoned the indefinite detention of political opponents that Ghana has adopted. But meantime, the Legums point out, black work-gangs in South Africa swing their picks to a chant of *Abalengu ngodamn, abalengu ngodati* (White people be damned, white people are dirt).

G. Mennen Williams, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said the other day that the Congo is "a top US foreign policy headache" along with Cuba and Vietnam. It turned out that the former Democratic Governor of Michigan includes the Congo because he fears that chaos there could "open the door to Communist and extremist penetration." So it could. But the tired cliché is not the Congo's or Africa's chief significance for the US.

The US has competed in showering irrelevant manna on the African countries. Tractors and tanks, shiny airliners and Bulgarian sesame paste, thousands of seats for non-existent toilets, are the capitalist and Communist replacements of old Africa Trader Horn's mirrors, beads, pocket-knives and bottles of gin. The US would be smarter if it applied in Africa whatever lessons in overcoming alienation it may learn from the Peace Corps, the War on Poverty, and community action programs. The non-alienation of humble or ordinary people from the Peace Corps, therefore from the United States, has been shown in Vietnam and even in the Dominican Republic.



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Solons and Specialists

by Alvin Toffler

It is Ralph Lapp's thesis that the basic direction of scientific research in the United States is being fixed without adequate advice from the scientific community, let alone the informed consent of the public. With a House subcommittee about to investigate the National Science Foundation, with the meetings of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the American Philosophical Association lately turned into sounding boards for criticism of research in the US, the time could not be more opportune for a book that presents a clear diagram of the existing set-up and proposals for its improvement.

The New Priesthood
By Ralph E. Lapp
(Harper & Row; $4.95)

The allocation of federal funds for scientific research, he shows, is a haphazard product of tugging and hauling by various scientific cliques, business, military and political forces.

Lapp is convincing, too, when he argues that Congress is incapable of representing the public interest at present. Decisions affecting the flow of research funds are made in a score of committees or subcommittees. Congressmen, by and large, lack the education necessary even to ask the right questions. Even when they do, it is not guaranteed that they will get the right answers. There are too few members of the "new priesthood" – Lapp's term for the new scientific and technical elite – who are willing or able to give independent advice to the legislators. Those who are called in to testify usually turn out to be employed by the agency seeking funds, an association that places unnecessary strain on scientific objectivity. The problem is further complicated by the secrecy that shrouds much of the work going on under government auspices. Security requirements put participants on certain projects at a decided advantage over critical outsiders. The result, Lapp goes on to say, is a federal research budget that is badly out of balance, with much too high a proportion being channelled into the space effort. Similarly, he complains that not enough is allocated to "pure" as against applied research.

Lapp's cure is the creation of a Department of Science, to be headed by a minister of cabinet rank. This department would take over functions of the Atomic Energy Commission, the National Science Foundation, the Office of Naval Research, the National Bureau of Standards, the Weather Bureau, the Office of Saline Water, and other agencies. It would serve as the single, central source of federal money for basic research (although it would apparently have nothing to do with applied research – a point the author leaves obscure).

Such a reorganization would have the advantage, he points out, of putting the entire federal research effort under a single highly visible and accountable official. The Secretary would be obligated to prepare an annual report on the state of science and technology in the US, which would provide a formal basis for public discussion. Ultimately, Lapp implies, more and better informed public debate could lead to a more sensibly balanced research budget. Appalled that about one-third of all present federal research funds goes into the space program, Lapp proposes a budget for 1980 in which space activities would receive only about one-sixth of the federal outlay. He suggests that by then this outlay will total $35 billion annually, with about $10 billion going for arms or arms control, the remainder of it for non-defense activities.

In raising these issues, there is no question that *The New Priesthood* performs a social service. Nevertheless, it suffers from a number of important weaknesses. While Lapp makes plain the imperfections of the present system, he accomplishes this without ever giving the reader a clear description of the system. The result is that anyone not intimately acquainted with the pre-

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cise differences between the NASA, the NSF, the NIH, FCST, OST, PSAC, the old RDB, not to speak of the NBS, the AEC and a dozen other acronymic agencies, will soon find himself at sea. Neither he nor, presumably, his editor, thought it important to give us a table of organization, and the descriptions of these agencies are scattered fragmentarily here and there, so that it is difficult at times to figure out who is doing what to whom.

Lapp makes recommendations, but fails to discuss adequately the objections and alternatives. Other scientists agree with his diagnosis, but not his proposed treatment. Some offer substantive arguments against the creation of a Department of Science. Lapp may be right, but there is more to be said for maintaining plural centers of responsibility for research.

Finally, the book leaves me dissatisfied because it touches on, then hastily flees from, a number of critically relevant issues. What, for example, is the *proper* relationship between fundamental and applied research? If the author is going to argue, as he does intermittently, that we give too little money to one and too much to the other, then he needs to explain the criteria by which he determines how much is "too much." Similarly, the book opens by quoting Wilson's famous warning: "What I fear is a government of experts." But the author shows little recognition of or interest in the fact that democracy's procedural difficulties in adjusting to the growth of science are merely a specific form of a more common ailment – its difficulty in coping with the rise of specialization in society.

In short, the "big" book on science and politics remains to be written.

The Rules They Use in Vietnam

by Richard Dudman

Vietnam is a conflict between Fort Bragg and Mao Tse-tung, and Mao is winning hands down. Taken together, these two books help show what has gone wrong in Vietnam, as theory has been translated into practice and as the counter-insurgency principles of Fort Bragg have come up against the realities posed by the Viet Cong guerrillas and their allies in Hanoi.

Counterinsurgency Warfare
by Maj. John A. Pustay, USAF
(Free Press; $6.95)
The New Face of War
by Malcolm W. Browne
(Bobbs-Merrill; $5)

Major Pustay is associate professor of political science and assistant dean at the United States Air Force Academy at Colorado Springs. Malcolm Browne has been covering Vietnam for the Associated Press since 1961, longer than any other correspondent and far longer than the tour of any American military man now in Vietnam, as Browne pointed out recently when an American officer questioned his credentials.

As the Major states the rules, they sound simple. Introducing a chapter on air operation, he says:

> "Airpower properly coordinated with surface power plus highly coordinated military and civil agency operations can insure the defeat of the insurgent guerrillas in military combat."

He goes on to say that "the strategic objective of protecting the people is of paramount importance in counterinsurgency operations; therefore, the air weapon-system selected should have pinpoint accuracy in the delivery of highly selective munitions. A strike can be considered effective only if the delivered munitions impact upon the enemy alone."

Finally, he predicts that "airpower will be in greater demand in its support roles in reconnaissance and assault airlift missions than in delivering munitions on specific enemy targets."

Against those rules and predictions, put Browne's account of an American army captain who walked through a hamlet on "civic action" duty, questioned the people sympathetically about their need for a new well, their problems with rats and a complaint about an unjust arrest. He was making progress in a single afternoon when two fighter planes swept in with rockets and cannon and destroyed half the village on a report that a few Viet Cong had been seen nearby. Precision is prescribed in the text books, but it is not being achieved in practice as the conflict becomes more and more an American war.

Another of Major Pustay's rules is that government soldiers should pay for food that they take from the people and generally create "the image of an honest, friendly, and helpful soldiery." Browne shows how well this rule is observed. Even the "civic action" teams of the South Vietnamese army habitually help themselves to all the chickens, ducks, eggs and rice they can carry away, as the army propagandists pass out leaflets asking the peasants to support the government.

Major Pustay reaches far to find ground for optimism in the guerrillas' greatest source of strength. He points out that the mass of people of the countryside, either through choice or through coercion, supply the insurgents with intelligence, personnel, food and clothing. This strength contains also an element of weakness, he says, since the counterinsurgents can exploit the guerrillas' "excessive dependence" on this one element of support.

How to capitalize on this supposed guerrilla weakness is another matter. The Major concentrates on such mechanical devices as resettlement of peasants into protected areas and efforts to cut off external aid. In Vietnam, the agrovilles and later the strategic hamlets were used as instruments for perpetuating the Ngo Dinh Diem family dictatorship, while all the fancy gadgets for stopping infiltration failed so dismally that the United States in desperation has begun bombing North Vietnam in hopes of forcing Hanoi to shut off this assistance at its source.

Major Pustay avoids the cliché about winning the hearts and minds of people, but in doing so he avoids the underlying truth that this is the underlying objective of the whole operation.

Browne risks some generalities that

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indicate how far this goal is from attainment in Vietnam. For one thing, he says that of thousands of officials he has known in the government sponsored by the United States, he can think of none who does not more or less hold the Vietnamese people in contempt. The feeling is reciprocated. As a result, he says,

> ". . . I think it is safe to say that the average Vietnamese views the only good official as a dead one. . . . When Viet Cong terrorists publicly behead some hamlet or province official and then disembowel the wife and children as well, Americans tend to assume that this will result in a powerful reaction by the people against the Viet Cong. Nothing could be farther from the truth in most cases. The Viet Cong often liquidates a government official precisely because it knows such an act will please the local people."

He casts doubt, also, on the good personal relations supposed to exist between Americans and Vietnamese, warning that they are only skin deep:

> "Most Vietnamese regard Americans as extremely gullible, politically infantile, and hypocritically soft hearted. For these things, they hold us in contempt, which in Vietnam is much worse than mere dislike."

As for the ever greater involvement of the United States, this runs against Major Pustay's prescription and prediction. He says that a country must combat its insurgents mainly by itself, possibly with some diplomatic support, economic aid and military assistance from outside.

> "In a few exceptional cases, the United States may be compelled to employ American forces in a limited and temporary manner directly to support local counterinsurgents," he says. "With the possible exception of diplomatic support, the United States must maintain a background position in these activities. The benefits of such support, as viewed by the indigenous populace, must be transformed into credits first for the incumbent government and then for the United States . . . American counterinsurgency must overwhelmingly support operations, not combat insurgents."

The plain fact is that this is becoming more and more an American war. The major quotes a clever observation about the jargon of counterinsurgency, a warning that "one cannot help but feel that semantics has perhaps outstripped theory." He himself uses plenty of words like "psychomilitary" and "infrastructure" and "multifacted phenomenon," but a considerably greater problem is that theory has outstripped the practical side of guerrilla warfare in Vietnam.

It seems to me that both books miss a key piece in the puzzle of why this carefully worked out counterinsurgency warfare is failing in Vietnam. Neither one says much about the drive for nationalist self-determination and rapid social progress that is so much a part of most underdeveloped countries.

In Vietnam, the historical circumstances put this drive into the hands of a group of Vietnamese Communists. Their leader, Ho Chi Minh is, in fact, regarded as the father of modern Vietnam in much of the South as well as the North. Since 1954, when his revolution was halted at the half-way point by the Geneva agreements, Ho has been able to point to a succession of governments in South Vietnam that have been sponsored and heavily supported by the West. Even though the United States has no colonial ambitions, he can persuasively accuse the United States of trying to impose a successor to French colonialism.

The rules and the techniques have not yet found a way to grab from the Vietnamese Communists the leadership of this powerful if misdirected drive for independence and affluence.

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More of the London Theatre

by Robert Brustein

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Saint-Exupery's Posthumous Testament

by William Mathes

There are many like this warrior-poet among our pilots: They love to fly but not to kill. Antoine de Saint-Exupéry would have enjoyed the challenge and sophistication of their modern aircraft, even as he did the P-38 which seemed to him both a miracle and a bother – and in which he died. But unlike our usually reluctant, but very efficient killers, Saint-Exupéry would have had

A Sense of Life
by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry
translated by Adrienne Foulke
(Funk & Wagnalls; $5)

the words to tell us why war is horrible. Writing about displaced Polish workers on a train (he was on his way to Moscow for *Paris-Soir*), he says:

". . . It is the human race and not the individual that is wounded here, is outraged here. . . . What torments me is neither the humps nor the hollows nor the ugliness. It is the sight, a little bit in all these men, of Mozart murdered. . . ."

His compassion is the theme of this posthumous collection: as haunting as something we once used to hear and feel, long ago. But reading about compassion today elicits irony. Saint-Exupéry speaks of the transcendental potentialities of mankind, of the flexibility and versatility of human hopes; and the answer – heard on any newscast – is written in napalm, the torture of prisoners, the starvation of populations and the landing of Marines and standing firm. When compassion was more than a memory, he spoke and it did not matter; who will listen now when too many ironies intersect in a din of silence?

This collection begins with a fragment of a short story written in 1926 about flying – the thrill, the mystic search for self and life in the invisible, shifting solidity of the sky; it ends with a tense, almost bitter, "Letter to General X" (written in 1943 just two months before he disappeared on a mission), deploring war and its dehumanization. Then in his forties, the mystic was trying to translate his vision, and he sensed that there was not much time:

". . . Now there is only one problem, only one: we must rediscover the fact that there is a life of the spirit even more noble than the life of the mind, and that it alone can nourish mankind. . . ."

The journey of his spirit describes a search for a way to implement responsibility. As a young man he had searched in the thrill and isolation of flight, but like others who have tasted true isolation, he returned, still looking, but with something to say about possibilities, a way, a chance for mankind based on the intensity and revelations of his search's first way station – the depths of profound loneliness and commitment. The body of *A Sense of Life* fills out his journey from the discovery of flight, to a celebration of that discovery, to a discovery and celebration of humanity.

The book is hot with adventure: crash landings, cyclones, revolutions, the stench and courage of men at war. But these are metaphorical glimpses. This is a mystic's adventure, but by one whose monastery was the glut and horror of the worst his world had to offer.

He writes from Moscow in 1935 his impressions of the city and the May Day celebrations. Forbidden to leave his hotel, he escaped to wander the streets among the crowds and the forest of banners. He found machine-like people in an unguarded moment, relaxing while waiting their turn to march: the grins of peasants, an accordian unhooked, dancing in a side-street. Also from Moscow, he tells of an evening with tipsy old Frenchwomen who had been caught by the Revolution (they had been governesses and teachers in fashionable schools). He was overwhelmed; they had not seen another Frenchman in almost thirty years.

In 1936 Saint-Exupéry went to report on the Spanish Civil War as a correspondent for *l'Intransigeant*. Writing from Barcelona, he sifts the heroism of men at war for relationships between awful isolation and resplendent communion:

". . . By what are we to measure the value of a man? His ancestor once drew a reindeer on the wall of a cave; and two hundred thousand years later that gesture still radiates. *It stirs us, prolongs itself in us.* Man's gestures are an eternal spring. . . . Solitary he may be, universal he surely is. . . ."

The next year in Madrid he was asking soldiers why they were willing to die and he found a partial answer:

"But you, by the grace of an ordeal in the night which stripped you of all that was not intrinsic, you discovered a mysterious creature born of yourself. Great was this creature, and never shall you forget him. And he is yourself. You have had the sudden sense of fulfilling yourself in

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He reduces all rationalizations for war to their horror:

"I have seen a young girl stripped of her gown of light. Am I to believe that reprisals are justified?"

His solution was simple and, finally, a question left unanswered still:

"We must put aside the passions and beliefs that divide us, for once we give them allegiance, they bring in their wake a veritable Koran of unshakable truth and all the fanaticism that springs from them. . . . What would we learn if we were to put a question to a man of war, whoever he may be, and if then, instead of listening to him struggle to answer in his poor inadequate language, we were to watch him live his life and thereby tell us the meaning of his deepest hopes?"

A Sense of Life includes the justly famous account of the opposing camps at the Guadalajaran front calling to each other across their no-man's land – talking as men under better circumstances talk of minor things, but even there in that swamp of terror and death trying to assuage their isolation. Also included are Saint-Exupéry's brilliant preface to the French translation of Ann Morrow Lindbergh's *Listen! the Wind*, his description of a battle with a cyclone over the Patagonian Argentine, and his tense sad "Letter to General X," in which he speaks for a civilization struggling against machines and machine-like people:

". . . Civilization is an intangible possession; it does not reside in things but in the invisible bonds that link them one to the other in this way and not in that way. Suppose we do achieve the mass distribution of perfectly machined musical instruments; where will the musicians be?"

He will be remembered for two books, mainly; his classic ode to flight, *Wind, Sand, and Stars* and his delightful and profound children's book, *The Little Prince* (perhaps, also, *The Wisdom of the Sands*). But this chronologically arranged sample of his writings serves as an excellent introduction to Saint-Exupéry, and it gives in one book a sense of the whole life of the man: where he went and what he felt, his journey from earth, to sky, to mankind. I was lucky; I was given a copy of *Wind, Sand, and Stars* when I was taking flying lessons ten years ago. Waiting to fly from a dirt field outside a small town is an ideal place to read Saint-Exupèry. He searched the sky so well and told about his search with such insight, that he gives one the idea that what he found might be found anywhere – anywhere one truly searches.

ART

The Young Latin Scene

There is a series of Latin American shows going on, with the odds very strong that most of them were planned independently of one another by such institutions as the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis and the Guggenheim in New York. Industry, too, looks at the Latins in an impressive show at the IBM Gallery under the sponsorship of ESSO International. The oil company asked a number of critics to serve on juries of selection and purchase in the countries and groups of countries to the south, along with one local representative of the Fine Arts ministry and one from the Pan American Union visual arts section, usually its chief, José Gomez-Sicre.

Esso Salon of Young Artists
IBM Gallery, New York

Using its own far-flung distribution system for the collection and transport of entries ESSO quite by accident established the first truly national or regional salons in several areas. Using its mixed bag of North Americans weighed against the local expertise of the Fine Arts people and the regional knowledge of Gomez-Sicre, ESSO has turned out an exhibition almost certain to cover more bases of the art scene down there than will the large institutional shows chosen by one or two people.

If you like broad, general statements, one that comes to mind in looking at the ESSO show is that surrealism – a minor remnant in the Europe of its birth – has taken new life in the new world, south as well as north and in quite different ways.

In US painting of the 1950's, there might have been seen a doggedly literal application of certain surrealist doctrines and programs, most notably the effort to catch the unconscious and the invocation of chance. In the younger painters of Latin America – the adjective in the title means forty or under – surrealism survives in a broader, easier, less fanatic and, it seems to me, more fruitful manner. Perhaps the most general conclusion to be drawn from surrealism is simply that there are hidden meanings in things. This proposition is manifest in the substantial majority of works by young artists in all parts of Latin America and it is what saves their work from being

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Guy Daniels *is the author of a forthcoming translation of Krylov's Fables.* Alvin Toffler's *newest book is* The Culture Consumers. Richard Dudman *is a correspondent for* The St. Louis Post Dispatch. William Mathes *is a young San Francisco novelist and critic.*

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merely provincial imitations of international abstraction.

The first prize in sculpture went to Hermann Guggiari of Paraguay for "Kennedy," an abstract iron form rising in a rough but graceful arc from its base to a height of about seven feet. At the top, with the iron heading straight up, it is broken off jaggedly, the dark interior and the torn edges suggesting both the assassination and the shock of that event. A simple conception, powerfully executed; not the representation of anything at all, yet unavoidable in its emotional message.

The painting that struck me as the finest in the show, "Huanacauri" by Fernando de Szyszlo of Peru, works in somewhat the same way, although it is a more complex work and less immediately available to the casual eye. The title refers to a semi-mythical mountain city said to be the place of origin of the Incas. The ground of the painting is a luminous, dim, blue-gray, quite thinly painted. Against this, in the center and a bit to right, towers a high vertical almost filling the space from top to bottom in predominantly brown, with some purple and a flash here and there of red, as if the whole structure were a high stone building seen against mountain air at foggy dawn. On the left side is a mask-shape very thickly painted and worked, with a flash or two of red and blue in the overall black. Facing this across a strip of the gray-blue is another such mask-shape, similarly painted and textured. Again, there is no hint of representation of anything; yet given the title the interpretation here sketched is reasonable and effective. The picture is strongly composed and the eye enjoys the contrasts between the surfaces, but the title deliberately invokes something more than those abstract pleasures and in that invocation those pleasures become a part of a larger communication.

This use of non-visually representative elements to create an object that is nevertheless visually communicative of meaning is put into reverse in another striking picture in the show, a still life by Fernando Botero of Colombia. The subject is clear enough: five pieces of fruit, resting on a table. One of them is green, but the other four are variations of the overall tone of yellow-orange-brown that is not only the background but also the table, of which we see the top and just a bit of the pedestal. The painting is very large for its subject, but it isn't the size so much as the way the space is proportioned between subject and surroundings that makes the still life into something else, namely the experience of a painting as such. The assemblage of fruit almost occupies the entire canvas. It is thus forced upon our consciousness and we are forced to attend to the subtle varieties of paint-stroke used in the construction of the picture; we move from quite evident meaning to an awareness of abstract elements.

The single drawing in the show, untitled pen and ink on paper, is of the Guatemalan Rudolfo Abularach and it operates simultaneously in both directions between the two poles of abstraction and significance. It is very dark and made of thousands of sharp, short lines, which lighten to create an oval within a oval in the upper part, a horizontal band of lightness and, below, a square in which are implied four smaller squares. But, revealed only by the easing of the denseness of the lines, these shapes seem to hover in a vibrant darkness. The work commands respect for the quality of the line and at the same time suggests mysterious presences beneath that dark sun.

Hermenegildo Sabat of Uruguay has yet another fusion of quite clear communication with immediate awareness of the technical elements. His "Mrs. Pérez the Day She Married Mr. Pérez," is a caution. It is also a beauty. The lady seems to be materializing from a white flow of paint, her face in the upper left, eyes streaked delicately with the white paint that dominates the top and the bottom left of the picture: she almost seems to be an image of the Virgin painted on a processional banner. In the bottom right is the head of Pérez, mouth open like a lion's in a rage of lust, hot blue eyes set in a dark and gnarled face. The two are held in the suggestion of a grid of, perhaps, wallpaper and chair-rail behind them; Pérez, too, has drippings of white on him. Francis Bacon comes to mind and so does Edvard Munch. An extraordinary piece of work.

Something ought to be said about the ESSO enterprise itself. The Salon of Young Artists – it sounds better in Spanish – is only one major feature of a program that includes the commissioning of musical compositions and the publication of poetry, fiction and criticism by Latin artists and intellectuals. As far as I knew this program stands alone in addressing the cultural leaders of tomorrow in Latin America. It is too early to draw up any kind of balance sheet from any point of view. But the ESSO program represents what ought to be a highly significant further

Harper's magazine
JUNE

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He is Saul Alinsky
THE PROFESSIONAL RADICAL

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step in that process of enlightenment that corporate self-interest has been engaged in for some decades at home and abroad. FRANK GETLEIN

Correspondence

"Its a Wonderful Town"

Sirs:

I find myself a trifle chagrined as a result of reading your May 15 issue and the article by James Ridgeway entitled, "Poor Chicago." Let us look at some of the gross distortions in this article.

He claims that Chicago's urban opportunity program is fed into Mayor Daley's welfare apparatus. In truth, the Department of Public Aid is a Cook County department wholly responsible to the Illinois State Legislature which is controlled by a Republican Senate.

He claims that Negroes in Chicago are kept "in hand" by operating a tough but well-run police department. This department has been the subject of considerable praise by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Chicago Urban League for its efforts at improved racial understanding. Its superintendent, Orlando W. Wilson, has been personally commended by these agencies for his complete integration of the department from top to bottom. In fact, the number one man on the recent promotion list for police captain was a Negro.

He claims that School Superintendent Benjamin Willis has some sort of role in an imaginary segregation scheme yet Willis was appointed more than two years before Daley became Mayor.

He claims residents of the Robert Taylor Homes, a Chicago Housing Authority project, live in constant terror, but a study of comparative crime statistics shows that less crime is committed by far, in Robert Taylor Homes than was committed in the same neighborhood before Taylor was constructed. We don't claim that low-income housing is the perfect solution, but it is considerably better than the conditions under which the residents of this area were forced to live before.

He says there is no minimum wage law in Illinois and that hence labor is cheap. He completely ignores the fact that the US Department of Labor shows that average wages in Illinois are second highest in the nation.

He complains that the rapid transit system doesn't run out to the suburbs to bring riders from the city to some of the new industrial areas. The rapid transit system in Chicago was built forty years ago. Does he blame Mayor Daley for that, too?

As for his figures on the unemployment in poor neighborhoods – nonsense. The highest percent of unemployed is 25 percent in one neighborhood. The others range down to about 8 percent, and these are the worst 24 areas of the city statistically.

Negroes in Chicago, he claims, all live in abject poverty. Census Department figures show that 35 percent of all Chicago Negroes are middle class, a tribute to the quality of Negroes in Chicago and the efforts made by all walks of life, public and private, to offer equal opportunities.

He makes a generalization that the welfare program is loathed by all its beneficiaries. Who says so? Mr. Ridgeway? Two unnamed ministers?

The steering committee of the city's anti-poverty program, the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, comes in for some more of Mr. Ridgeway's unsubstantiated sour journalism. He says two are Negroes, that there is a judge, a labor union official and that the remainder represent public agencies or business. Lots of implied criticism but nothing specific. No fact. What's wrong with business interesting itself in the problems of the underprivileged? Is being a businessman a disqualification to enlightenment? Does he say that the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago, which represents some 130-plus private agencies, has its executive director on the committee? No. He claims that no neighborhood groups are represented, but even Mr. Ridgeway's crystal ball couldn't have been so clouded that he missed the point that was made that representatives of each advisory council in poverty neighborhoods are to sit on the committee and that in many of the areas, inevitably they will be Negroes.

He claims that the urban progress centers contain representatives of city welfare services. Aside from the repetition of the factual error, what services does he criticize? Does he mean the Health or Fire Departments? Does he mean the Housing Authority? Does he mean the Building Department? What's wrong with having these departments accessible to the people in community centers? Is this something sinister? He tries to leave that impression.

Now we come to a neat little journalistic trick which all former newsmen, such as I, appreciate when we see it: All the accomplishments are qualified with little sneak words like "seemingly," or "supposedly," or "it is claimed." When he gets to points of criticism he makes them fact. No qualifications. When he gets to the factual things, things which he can't ignore, he qualifies them. Our subprofessionals, he

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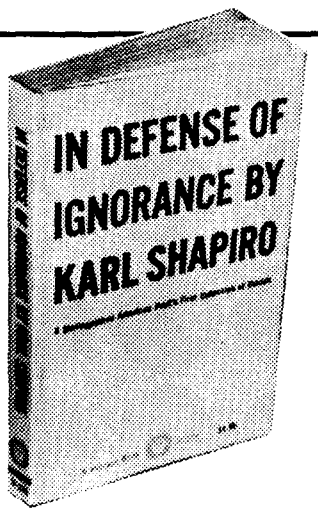

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says, are "supposedly" selected by a personnel expert. Some, he says, are politically referred. Others find their own way. We supplied him with figures which showed that of the first 560 applicants for jobs, some 58 were referred by elected officials. Of the remainder, more than 50 percent were referred by local churchmen. The personnel expert "supposedly" selecting employees is head of a nationally-known firm which screened every potential employee and interviewed and trained them. The subprofessional employees, neighborhood residents who formerly were among the unemployed, are engaged in a number of tasks. Among them are talking with leadership and heads of community organizations discussing with them ways to get involved in the urban opportunity program. They also call on families in the neighborhood to acquaint them with the programs available. This, according to Mr. Ridgeway's view of the poor, seems to be the wrong thing. He says some of the services available to the poor are loathsome.

He criticizes the location of one of the centers because it is in a large public park. He doesn't point out that the first criticism he heard of the location was from an official of the Chicago committee who pointed out that the location was temporary but that finding adequate facilities in neighborhoods that are rapidly deteriorating is not a simple task.

He claims that the head of the Chicago Housing Authority heads a real estate firm that manages slum properties. Some time ago, this firm did manage some deteriorated buildings under the hope of being able to improve them within the current rent market. It found itself unable to do so and got out of the business.

He claims that two ministers – again they go unnamed – found some women getting shortchanged by the Welfare Department. He doesn't say how, just claims some civic misdeed and then goes blithely on to remark that some woman was "tracked" by Welfare Department inspectors who wanted to know where she was going to church. What's Mr. Ridgeway trying to intimate? Is this another sinister plot such as those he seems to see lurking behind every municipal deed?

The Illinois State Employment Service, Ridgeway says, is "claimed" by some people to have a scab policy on employment. Poppycock. He anonymously quotes "some people I talked to" without ever having asked anyone at ISES to answer. Apparently responsible people don't fit into Mr. Ridgeway's pattern of sources for information. They send no one out for less than $1.25 an hour.

He claims we in Chicago consider the Job Corps to be a joke although he once again conveniently forgets to substantiate what he says in such an opinionated manner. He passes off the Neighborhood Youth Corps which is providing jobs for 8,000 youths by some equally unsubstantiated cracks about arrest records, criticizing our decision to take fingerprints. We assume that any youth with a big or serious arrest record should have the benefit of additional help. We told Mr. Ridgeway that no one would be disqualified because of a record. He insists on questioning that fact although if he had bothered to check, he would have found it to be true.

He complains that there is no program for adult employment in the Chicago plan. He neglects to point out that the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 contains no adult employment programs at all.

He seems perfectly willing to accept the word of several long-time anti-Chicago people without offering anyone on the other side an equal right.

He once again passes off two of the most exciting programs in the entire Chicago plan with two short sentences – the pre-school program which is providing an educational chance for hundreds of youngsters from underprivileged areas, and the STREETS project, a street-worker program which works through four private agencies (the same ones he claims weren't involved in the program somewhere else in his article).

He claims that public housing on the South Side is designed to keep the Negroes voting Democratic and yet claims that everyone living in public housing hates it. He claims that Robert Taylor Homes is a political plot and yet all the residents of Taylor Homes who are of voting age would not comprise 15 per cent of one ward's total voting population.

The Woodlawn Organization, run by his hero Saul Alinsky, has a request that is being sat on by the Chicago Committee, he claims. Does he say that TWO refused until last week to even provide us with information about its proposal that would make it complete enough to submit to Washington for approval? This same information didn't seem too much to supply when the other 56 private and public agencies submitted proposals. Only for TWO. And, incidentally, that progress center which we opened that he and TWO complain about doesn't even serve the Woodlawn area and isn't near it.

Once he establishes an opinion as a fact, he blithely refers to it time and time again. If constant repetition of a falsehood makes it a fact, then Mr. Ridgeway has made facts out of an awful lot of untruths. Again, he refers to the Daley welfare machine. Alinsky, and apparently Mr. Ridgeway, believe that all you need to be successful in any attack on the causes of poverty is to hand Alinsky or his fellows the money and they'll take it from there. Even Alinsky admits that only about five percent of any neighborhood he organizes ever gets involved. And that $300,000 application Mr. Ridgeway talks about that Alinsky is waiting to see if Mayor Daley will allow Washington to OK, that $300,000 would go to Alinsky to organize the West Side. Recently a national Negro leader spoke in this area and criticized demands of white organizers for large amounts of money to organize Negroes who, he said, could probably organize themselves very well, thank you.

He says we asked "quickly" (there's

"SECULARIZED PROTESTANTISM is celebrating its own funeral; Tillich and Robinson are declaiming the funeral orations. This is inevitable and probably desirable once the principle of authority has been lost. A secular church will not long survive. Yet here and there, in individual churches, the old principle of obedience to a divine revelation persists; where it does, there is still a church, and still a Lord."

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that conditional wordage again) not to be judged too hastily because the program just got started. Then he adds that the committee was formed more than a year ago. The criticism seems to be that we got started too early. That's placing an unusual viewpoint on being ahead of the rest of the nation, isn't it? What's more, he seems to have forgotten conveniently again, the fact that no funds were available to Chicago until about four months before he made his whirlwind tour of Chicago and that all of the accomplishments he passes over so lightly were made in four months.

The things he suggests we need as "more than just window dressing" sound familiar. Perhaps he can find them among his notes because we outlined for him a list of things that had been approved within two weeks of his visit and for which we were awaiting funds.

One cannot escape the conclusion that Mr. Ridgeway need not have come to Chicago to view the program here. His views obviously were well established before his arrival. The only reason for such a trip apparently was to give an impression of investigation without really investigating anything. . . .

Deton J. Brooks, Jr.
Executive Director
Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity

In reply . . .

In suggesting that the article "Poor Chicago" is a collection of distortions, Dr. Brooks answers neither of the two main strikes aimed at the poverty program he administers. The first is that Chicago's war on poverty amounts to little more than an extension of existing social or "welfare" services which have served as instruments of a policy that results in keeping the poor Negroes walled-up in ghettos. The second is that (at this writing) the poor themselves have not been involved in planning the poverty war and have little to say about the way it is run.

Certainly Dr. Brooks does not say the poor are represented on the steering committee of the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, the committee formed a year ago by Mayor Daley to run the city's anti-poverty efforts. (Indeed, when charges were made before Congressman Powell that the poor were excluded Mayor Daley told reporters that letting poor people run an anti-poverty program "would be like telling the fellow who cleans up to be the city editor of a newspaper.") While admitting this committee is dominated by businessmen and public officials, Dr. Brooks suggests there is an independent voice in the presence of representatives of the private Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago. (Incidentally, contrary to what Dr. Brooks claims, the article clearly stated welfare council representatives were on the steering committee.)

In March the staff of this council did a study of the poverty program which is worth quoting; little has changed since then. The study said the planning by the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity was "for the poor, not with the poor." It went on to note that the plan for the Urban Progress Centers and the funding applications all were acted upon without cooperation or even minimum involvement of the poor or representatives from the areas to be served.

The study makes the following points: Planning and programming by the Chicago committee were initiated in July of 1964. Proposals were solicited from both public and private agencies. In mid-November more than 100 separate proposals costing $140 million were forwarded to the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington. In early December the OEO announced a grant of $3.5 million to finance establishment of Urban Progress Centers and $500,000 for pre-school centers. Conditions attached by OEO to the pre-school grants called for a reorganization of the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, but neither the members of the committee nor its steering committee nor the Welfare Council were informed of the conditions. The Mayor did add four members to the over-all committee at a later date; but the Welfare Council study charges that the way this matter was handled showed that major policy questions were not faced directly or openly with the steering committee.

In late January, 56 proposals costing $31 million were submitted to the OEO. Formal approval of the submission was given by Dr. Brooks' steering committee, although no member of the committee had seen the complete listing until two weeks *after* it was sent to Washington. Local communities and agencies submitting proposals did not see the list either. The estimated $31 million of proposals included approximately $5.5 million in voluntary agency projects and only one proposal by a community group for a local area which focused on involving people in a self-help project.

These people don't even go through the motions of legitimatizing their actions. The Welfare Council study merely indicates once more that Dr. Brooks and his committee members are nothing more nor less than dummies for the Mayor's office.

Dr. Brooks points out, as did the ar-

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ticle he criticizes, that the poor can participate in the war on poverty through membership in the advisory councils which are appended to the Urban Progress Centers. But that doesn't mean much. The members of these councils and their chairmen are appointed by the Center director who, in turn, is appointed by the Mayor. If Chicago meant business, why couldn't it steer the course followed in Philadelphia and let the people of the slums elect their own representatives to councils that actually run the Centers?

Dr. Brooks makes a number of other interesting points. He says there is no program for adult employment in the Chicago set-up because the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 contains no programs for adult employment. Yet the United Planning Organization, which administers the anti-poverty effort in the District of Columbia, recently received more than $1 million from OEO to set in motion an intensified job development scheme for hard-core unemployed adults as well as youngsters in Washington. And Atlanta's community action program is helping unemployed adults find jobs.

Dr. Brooks claims that the Illinois State Employment Service, which coordinates the poverty program's employment schemes, makes no job referrals to work paying less than $1.25 an hour. When I sought information on employment, Dr. Brooks' office kindly referred me to the official of the ISES who knew about employment plans. This official said the ISES will refer applicants to jobs where the entrance wage is below the federal minimum wage. And indeed, in a letter published in these columns last week John E. Cullerton, director of the Illinois Department of Labor and Samuel C. Bernstein, Illinois Employment Security Administrator, said that for jobs not covered by the federal laws, the state employment manual prohibits reference of anyone to a job paying substandard wages, which they went on to define as less than the *prevailing* wage. The prevailing wage is not necessarily the same as the federal minimum wage. Perhaps these gentlemen might have a conference to resolve ambiguities in their policies.

As for rates of unemployment, Dr. Brooks claims it reaches 25 percent in only one neighborhood. The Woodlawn Organization reports unemployment among males run to 50 percent in its area. The West Side Organization, a community action group on the near west side of the city, reports unemployment in its neighborhood among men has gone up to 40 percent.

Dr. Brooks feels that I exaggerated the public housing situation. In a series entitled "Chicago's $70 million Ghetto," the *Chicago Daily News* described in detail the horror of living in Taylor Homes. These blocks of high-rise public housing have been attacked by federal officials; the staff of the Chicago Housing Authority recently drew up a special report for Charles Swibel, chairman of the authority. It urged the scattering of sites and development of low-rise buildings and interracial housing. While the city has turned a deaf ear on these proposals before, mounting criticism has forced Swibel to agree that future housing will be medium-rise (that is seven to 11 stories, not the present 16).

In addition to being chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority, Mr. Swibel is president of Marks & Co., a realty firm, that in the past managed slums on the city's west side. Dr. Brooks claims the company now has left this business. On the other hand, Father Patrick O'Malley, chairman of the housing committee of the Mile Square Federation, a community organization on the west side that has protested Swibel's role in managing slum buildings, said Marks & Co. still manages slums in his neighborhood.

Dr. Brooks refers to census figures that indicate 35 percent of Chicago's Negroes are "middle class." According to the 1960 census, Chicago contained about 280,000 primary families and individuals with non-white household heads. Of these, 112,000 or 40 percent had incomes under $3,000 in 1959; approximately 146,000 or 52 percent had incomes under $4,000; approximately 181,000 or 65 percent had incomes under $5,000. I do not understand what Dr. Brooks means by "middle class."

Dr. Brooks suggests that the director of the Cook County Department of Public Aid could not be a cog in Mayor Daley's welfare apparatus since he is responsible to the Republican-controlled state Senate. While the Republicans in the state legislature certainly

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have created a good deal of trouble for the Chicago welfare department in the past, the director of the Department of Public Aid is appointed by the Democratic-controlled Cook County Board of Commissioners.

Perhaps as Dr. Brooks says the charges of *de facto* school segregation are "imaginary." But when Benjamin Willis recently was reappointed superintendent by the school board (its members are appointed by the Mayor), the NAACP immediately called a boycott of the school system in protest.

The "temporary" Urban Progress Center located in the middle of a park far away from the slums was opened just four months ago – February 12. How long is "temporary"?

The "unsubstantiated cracks" about the Neighborhood Youth Corps were quotes from Dr. Brooks. TWO's proposals for poverty funds recently were approved by OEO in Washington, which probably had less to do with supplying Dr. Brooks with information than it did with political pressure produced from Mr. Powell's hearings.

Contrary to what Dr. Brooks says, all of the proposals I said were "pending" in Washington have not been approved – according to OEO – mostly notably, the plans for neighborhood lawyers. Most important there is nowhere contained in the Chicago program the least suggestion that the people who work in the anti-poverty war should be the advocates of their real constituents, the poor. Instead, Dr. Brooks is left defending the existing city social or welfare services whose failures his committee ostensibly was created to overcome. Does Dr. Brooks really think that the Congress would have bothered itself to create a new federal mechanism in an effort to deal with poverty, if it thought the present welfare schemes were doing the job? Obviously, the poverty program is meant to reform these dead welfare mechanisms in the process of coming to grips with basic slum institutions. In Chicago, it is designed to do neither.

There now are recurrent rumors in Chicago that the steering committee of the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity is about to be overhauled, and some poor people put on it. Perhaps by next year it will have become more than a joke. *James Ridgeway*

The Kennedy-Javits Amendment

Sirs:

I have read your fine magazine for some years, with pleasure and with respect for its accuracy and judgment.

However, I strongly protest an implication contained in your May 15 article on the Voting Rights Bill. The article referred to an amendment to prohibit New York's discriminatory refusal to allow Puerto Ricans, educated in Spanish in American-flag schools, equal voting rights with persons educated in English-language schools under the American flag. The implication was that Senator Javits, for political reasons, was at best lukewarm in his support of the amendment. Senator Javits' devotion to civil rights is beyond dispute, and any implication to the contrary is grossly unfair.

I introduced the amendment in question with Senator Javits. His efforts on behalf of this amendment – as have been all of his efforts on behalf of civil rights – were tireless and effective. Contrary to the author's prediction, the amendment was passed, by a vote of 48-19. Much of the credit must go to my senior colleague.

Robert F. Kennedy
US Senate

CORE Community Center

Sirs:

One of Luke Kabat's "friends in Mississippi" (May 23), Bettie Manual . . . came to Newton High School where she is the only Negro student in a history class of mine. . . . Bettie now champions non-violence as a way of life, even to condemning the use of force to end racism in Mississippi. This summer, Bettie will be back in Mississippi as a CORE worker.

For Luke Kabat's "friends" who remained in Mississippi, CORE plans to build a new community center, dedicated to Chaney, Schwerner, and Goodman. Contributions to the center, which are tax deductible, can be sent to the CORE Scholarship, Education, and Defense Fund, 150 Nassau Street, New York City, New York.

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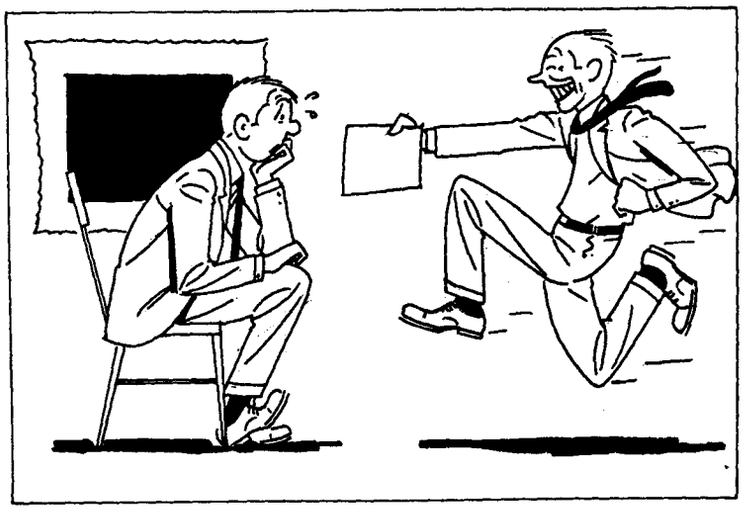

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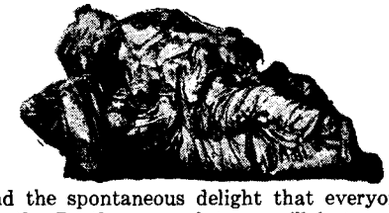

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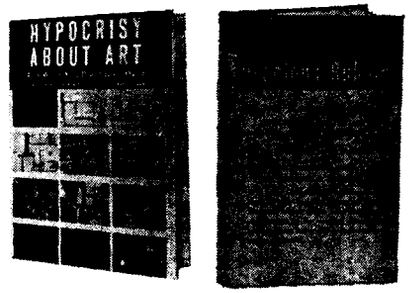

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